

LABOR IN VIETNAM



VOLUME II 1970

Topic
Rural Labor

Prepared by:

Labor Division, USAID
Trade Union Branch
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VIETNAMESE CONFEDERATION OF LABOR
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

SECTION 1.— COOPERATIVES :

- Consumer Cooperative
- Saving and Credit Cooperative
- *Producers* :

{	Farmers (agricultural workers) Cooperative
{	Fishermen Cooperative

SECTION 2.— MEDICAL CARE — PUBLIC HEALTH :

- Dispensary — First Aid.
- Memberships and their family, School children, people living around near the Social Center will be periodic/daily examined by Doctor without consultation fees,
- Medical care/Medicine will be given to them free of charge (necessitate medical care for the First Aid in case of injury or sudden indisposition and illness).

SECTION 3.— PRIMARY EDUCATION — ITS AIMS AND OBJECTIVES.

Kindergarten — School children — Day Nursery :

- To organize classes for children aged from 4 years to 6 years old, and to help their parents who are free and so that able to assume their job during daily working time.
- To teach the children basic education : Politeness, hygiene, order, reading and writing Vietnamese.

SECTION 4.— ADULT AND YOUTH EDUCATION.

- To organize night classes for laborers/workers who will be taught to read and write Vietnamese and able to work with 4 arithmetic operations.
- At the second step they will receive the basic civic instruction.

SECTION 5.— COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT — MUTUAL AID.

- Repairing and building roads, drains, gutters, public waterclosets and bathrooms,
- Providing fire fighting equipment, training and organizing fire fighting men.
- Organizing Mutual Aid in case of perilous event, danger, critical point, pressing peril. EMERGENCY.

SECTION 6.— ENTERTAINMENT.

- Entertainment and education by film projection, television, radio, music, theater.
- To disseminate scientific information and good Vietnamese customs, to show and demonstrate the value of all activities on labor mouvement.

VIETNAMESE CONFEDERATION
OF LABOR
14, Le-Van-Duyet
-SAIGON-

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE
AND WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES
ANNUAL ACTIVITIES REPORTS - 1969

LOCATION OF SOCIAL WELFARE CENTERS	AVERAGE MONTHLY			Tailor- ring train- ing	Social cater- ing (Daily Rations	PUBLIC HEALTH		(MEDICAL CARE)	
	Women's Mem- ber- ships	CLASS	PUPIL			DISPEN- SARY	FIRST AID	Number of persons (12 Months)	
								Periodic daily examined by Doctor	Daily/ Medicines care
SAIGON-CHOLON GIADINH									
Central dispensary								2.851	2.780
QUANG-KHAI	450	2	110			1		2.580	2.200
QUANG-MH-GIANG	400	2	100			1		2.250	1.880
HANH-HOI	690	5	260	2		1		2.770	1.10
AY-LEEN	682	8	325	1		1		2.720	630
CHU-CU	510	4	219	2		1		2.210	510
CHU-VAP	650	5	310	2		1		2.320	420
CHU-HON	470	2	162						
UNG - I - UOI I	620	2	110		1 (450)	1			810
UOI II	830	3	150	2			1		760
AL-HANG	395	2	120				1		850
UANG-NAM	1.365			2			1		730
UANG-TIN	1.935	3	120		1 (480)				
UANG-TIN	1.720	3	128	2	1 (630)	1			950
UNG - II - INH-DINH					1 (450)				
INH-TRANG	880	4	210			1		870	720
INH-THUAN I	1.200	4	200			1			1.340
INH-THUAN II	1.500	2	100						620
UNG - III - INH-DUONG	670	4	300	2		1		580	660
INH-HOA	520	2	120	2		1		420	515
UNG - IV - INH-TUONG I									
INH-TUONG II	1.285	4	180	2	1 (480)	1		2.885	2.780
INH-HOA					1 (360)				
	16.769	61	3.224	19	(2.850)	13	4	22.456	10.265

REMARK: Courses opened in 1969:

- 1 Training for Teacher
- 2 Training for Social Workers
- 1 Training for Administrative officers of CVT's Social Centers
- 1 Seminar Teachers of CVT's Social Centers
- 1 Seminar on high Cost of Living for Women workers of Saigon City

SƠ ĐỒ TỔ CHỨC

ỦY-BAN XÃ-HỘI VÀ PHỤ-NỮ T.L.

Ư

VĂN - PHÒNG
TỔNG LIÊN-ĐOÀN LAO-CÔNG VIỆT-NAM

Central Bu-COT

ỦY-BAN XÃ-HỘI VÀ PHỤ-NỮ
Trung-Ương

Women SW Com

Sw Com in Saigon

TỔ CƠ CẤU CẤU CẤU
TỔ CƠ CẤU CẤU CẤU

TỔ CƠ CẤU CẤU CẤU
TỔ CƠ CẤU CẤU CẤU

School in Ed 5

W/Sw Com in each Province

Ủy-Ban Xã-Hội Và Phụ-Nữ
Trực-thuộc
LIÊN-HIỆP NGHIỆP-ĐOÀN
Địa - Phương

Ủy-Ban Xã-Hội Và Phụ-Nữ
Trực-thuộc
LIÊN-HIỆP NGHIỆP-ĐOÀN
Saigon-Chợ-Lớn-Gia-Định

Ủy-Ban Xã-Hội Và Phụ-Nữ
Trực-thuộc
VĂN-PHÒNG ĐẠI-DIỆN
T.L.ĐNL.C.V.N.

TRUNG-TÂM
XÃ-HỘI

TRUNG-TÂM
XÃ-HỘI

TRUNG-TÂM
XÃ-HỘI

TRUNG-TÂM
XÃ-HỘI

TRUNG-TÂM
XÃ-HỘI

TRUNG-TÂM
XÃ-HỘI

Asst. Soc. or local centers

REPORT ON TRADE UNIONS

IN VIET NAM

1970

I. INTRODUCTION...

This report is intended to provide a brief glimpse into the past and present activities of trade unions in the Republic of (South) Viet Nam. Since the half-million member Vietnamese Confederation of Labor (its initials, CVT, are derived from the organization's original French name, Confederation Vietnamienne du Travail) is by far the largest, the most active and the most effective workers' force in Viet Nam, it will receive the most attention in this report.

The CVT is the only powerful, non-military force for nationalism in Viet Nam that crosses all political, ethnic, religious and regional lines. It includes Vietnamese, Cambodians, Chinese, Montagnards, Catholics, Buddhists, Hoa Hao, Cao Dai, fishermen, farmers, factory workers, taxi drivers, swallow-nest gatherers and scores of other occupational groups, and its membership extends from the 17th Parallel to the Gulf of Siam and the South China Sea to the Cambodian-Laotian boarder.

Those viewing Vietnamese trade unions for the first time should not expect to encounter trade unions as they exist in the United States. Moreover, while the CVT is an offspring of the French trade union movement, it has not developed along the same paths as its European counterparts. What has developed in Viet Nam is a distinctive form of trade unionism which has assimilated various characteristics, not only from the American and European trade union movements, but also from within its own culture, which includes a craft guild history dating back 12 centuries. European ideological motivation, American pragmatism and Asian perseverance are all key ingredients.

The U. S. Mission assists the Vietnamese trade unions under the authority of Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act, which provides for the development of free, democratic, non-government institutions as one of the most vital steps in the nation-building process. While such assistance has been provided since as early as 1956, it was not until 1967 that a more extensive and coordinated program was initiated by U. S. AID.

II. THE VIETNAMESE CONFEDERATION OF LABOR (CVT)....

The largest labor organization in Viet Nam , and the only one which has demonstrated a degree of viability, is the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor. Its French name, Confederation Vietnamienne du Travail, is the source of the initials by which it is most popularly known -- CVT. Its name in Vietnamese is Tong Lien Doan Lao-Cong Viet-Nam. The symbol of CVT is a huge squat water buffalo shown from a frontal view in the middle of a cogged gear, signifying the brotherhood of workers from both agriculture and industry.

The head of the CVT, Mr. Tran Quoc Buu, is the same man who founded it 20 years ago and was first elected president and chairman at CVT's first national convention in 1954. Buu is regarded as the Father of Organized Labor in Viet Nam, being esteemed by his rank-and-file in much the same way as Samuel Gompers and John L. Lewis are in the United States.

Although Buu is the most powerful individual in the CVT, he has in recent years focused an ever greater amount of his attention on international labor affairs leaving internal administration to his fellow executive officers Secretary-General Tran Huu Quyen and General Treasurer Vo Van Giao. In addition to serving as president of the Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unions, the regional arm of the World Confederation of Labor (WCL, is the new name of the former International Federation of Christian Trade Unions) Buu travels abroad eight to 10 times a year on international labor missions.

However since early 1969 Buu has devoted an increasing amount of his time to the strengthening of the CVT, particularly in terms of developing the political influence necessary to achieve the goals and aspirations of the Vietnamese working man. Realizing that the development of a democratic society requires the participation of its citizenry in the decision-making process Buu has encouraged CVT members to pay closer attention to political affairs and to express their views, wants and demands through the democratic process.

Secretary-General Quyen is responsible for the internal operations of the CVT, from routine administrative matters to the publication of the weekly CVT newspaper Cong Nhan, which is produced in CVT's own printing plant at the central headquarters at 14 Le Van Duyet Street in Saigon.

Treasurer Giao is perhaps the busiest man in CVT, other than Buu himself. In addition to his duties as treasurer of CVT, Giao is the president of CVT's largest affiliate the Tenant Farmers' Federation.

He directly supervises the CVT fertilizer distribution program (to be discussed later) which has been one of the most significant factors in the rapid growth of the TFF. He also heads the Fertilizer Distribution Center, a loose confederation of various farmer organizations which cooperate to assure that an adequate supply of fertilizer will be available to the farmers and that the black market will not attempt to corner the market. Giao has formed a private import company, owned by the CVT which supplies fertilizer and farm equipment (The GVN refused to grant CVT an import license; therefore, Giao had to organize a private company for this purpose).

The CVT is comprised of five federations plus a number of independent unions. The federations are the Tenant Farmers, Fishermen, Transportation Workers, Plantation Workers and the Textile Workers Federations. Other CVT affiliates are the Petroleum Workers, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, Technical and Clerical Employees, Union of U. S. AID Employees, Dockworkers, Airline Workers (Pan American and Air America), and scores of others all the way down to the 60-member Swallow-nest Gatherers Union of Nha Trang.

Since a census of membership is generally made only immediately prior to a national convention of the CVT (the next will be in October 1970) accurate membership totals are not available. It must also be remembered that there are two categories of members -- those which pay regular dues and those who are exempted (due to the war situation or members of newly organized locals) or pay irregularly.

The following membership figures were reported by the various federations as of July 1, 1969, and represent the closest possible estimate without an actual canvass of all local chapter unions:

Tenant Farmers	180,000	(95,718)
Fishermen	71,000	(16,080)
Transport Workers	21,821	
Plantation Workers	16,441	
Textile Workers	1,625	
* Confirmed due paying members)		

A sharp contrast can be seen between the Tenant Farmers and the Fishermen's Federation. The former has spent the past year in consolidating its strength, developing leadership and promoting programs aimed at increasing membership participation (including the payment of dues). As a result, there has been little numerical growth in the Tenant Farmers' Federation. Moreover, the total dues-paying membership has more than doubled. The Fishermen's Federation has engaged heavily in organizing activity aimed primarily at gaining new members but not necessarily

necessarily at increasing the dues-paying membership. The Fishermen's Federation is expected to begin its consolidation phase in the coming year.

The key to the Tenant Farmers' success in boosting its size and financial strength was its participation in the fertilizer program. By making large quantities of fertilizer available at the lowest possible price and by convincing the farmers of the value of using the fertilizer (and new high-yield rice seed such as IR-8 and IR-5), the CVT attracted thousands of new members in 1967 and 1968. Persuading them to pay dues was a simple matter because of the financial motivation; the farmers knew they stood to make much more money through the use of fertilizer and through the savings they could enjoy by buying at CVT's low price than they would have to pay in dues. While fertilizer remains an important attraction to potential new CVT members, the Tenant Farmers have expanded their scope of support to members to include distribution and credit for small diesel-powered tractors.

These tractors can serve 10 families at one time and will replace as many as four water buffaloes in production. Also, they serve not only to till the land, but are used to pull wagons, thresh the harvested rice, provide power for rice mills, and a multiplicity of other purposes. To date, the AFL-CIO of the United States, or its offspring organization, the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, which has an agreement with USAID to provide leadership training and other support to the CVT, have supplied 40 of these hand tractors to the CVT. The enthusiastic acceptance of mechanization has been phenomenal. In Long An province, for example, about 10 of these U. S. financed tractors were distributed on a credit program under which the 10-family group paid one-third in advance and the balance over a two year period. After just a few months, the tractors had become so popular in Long An that 80 more were purchased, either without credit or on credit supplied by the CVT itself.

In addition to the five federations, there are several highly important national unions which are affiliated with CVT. Probably the strongest of these is the Vietnamese Petroleum and Chemical Workers' Union, which includes 1,700 workers at Shell, Esso and Caltex Oil Companies. This union is comprised primarily of blue collar workers but there are some clerical workers also. The Petroleum Workers' Union has collective bargaining agreements with the three oil companies and members enjoy such benefits as medical care, severance pay and other provisions common in American trade union agreements.

There are a number of dockworkers' unions at various ports in Viet Nam, but these are not yet allied into a federation or single national union.

The Saigon port has about 3,000 members; 1,000 at DaNang; 500 at Cam Ranh; and several hundred at Qui Nhon and Nha Trang.

A relatively new union, but one of the most closely knit in the country is the Vietnamese USAID Employees' Union, with nearly 2,000 dues-paying members from USAID, JUSPAO and CORDS. This union was organized in 1967 and representatives meet regularly with USAID management to discuss various matters which are of concern to the Vietnamese employees of the U. S. Mission.

Other CVT affiliates which are not part of the federations are the airline unions (Air Vietnam, Pan American and Air America), the Electrical Workers' Union and the Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees' Union.

III. NON-CVT TRADE UNIONS IN VIET NAM

The GVN Ministry of Labor, which is responsible for issuing licenses not only for trade unions but also for employer associations, reports that in 1969 there were 525 trade unions in licensed and operating in Viet Nam. While the majority of these are affiliated with the CVT, there are several prominent federations or confederations apart from CVT. The membership of some of these is vastly inflated and in many cases represents "sympathizers" rather than dues-paying members.

a. Vietnamese Confederation of Trade Unions:

The Vietnamese Confederation of Trade Unions (CSTV), established in 1953, claims a membership of 50,000 members, including its insurance company patrons. Its membership is comprised primarily of industrial textile workers of Chinese origin in the Cholon area of Saigon. The main office of the CSTV is located at 7 Ly Thai To Street in Saigon. Leaders of the confederation include: Phan Van Chi, president, and Pham Diem, vice president.

b. Vietnamese Confederation of Industrial and Agricultural Workers:

The Confederation of Industrial and Agricultural Workers (CIAW) was established in 1969. Its 35,000 members are located mainly in the Saigon and Can Tho areas, with the main strength centered in the Federation of Construction Workers. Offices are at 197 Ly Thai To, Saigon. The CIAW, like the CVT, is affiliated with the Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unions, the regional branch of the World Confederation of Labor (formerly the IFCTU). Leaders of the organization are Tran Sinh, president; Nguyen Van Xuan, vice president; and Le Van Thot, secretary-general.

c. Vietnamese Congress of Labor:

Established on May 1, 1969, the Vietnamese Congress of Labor is an alliance between the Federation of Railway Workers and the Vietnamese Labor Union. Its combined claimed membership is 6,000. Offices are in the Railway Workers' headquarters at 14 Pham Ngu Lao Street, Saigon, and leaders include Nguyen Khanh Van (VLU), Tran Trong Dat (RWW) and Hoang Xuan Dong (RWW).

d. Vietnamese Federation of Railway Workers:

CVT
The Federation of Railway Workers was established in 1953. It claim 4,000 members, is located at 14 Pham Ngu Lao, Saigon, and is headed by Tran Trong Dat, president; and Hoang Xuan Dong, secretary-general. It was formerly affiliated with the CVT but went independent in 1965.

e. Vietnamese Labor Union:

The Vietnamese Labor Union (UOV) was founded Dec. 24, 1953. It claims 2,000 members, mostly located in Chu Lai and Cam Ranh. Its offices are at 133 Hai Ba Trung, Saigon. Leaders are Nguyen Van Ngai, president; and Nguyen Khanh Van, vice president.

f. Vietnamese Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

The Vietnamese Confederation of Free Trade Unions was formed in 1964 and claims 5,000 members, mostly centered in the Saigon Tri-Lambretta Drivers' Union. The office is at 55 Tran Hung Dao, Cho Lon. Leaders are Bui Luong (formerly secretary-general of CVT), president; and Doan Quang Minh, secretary-general.

IV. HISTORY OF VIETNAMESE TRADE UNIONS...

Workers' organizations in Viet Nam date back to the 12th Century when craft guilds began forming at the village level. Vietnamese who wished to learn a craft would go to China for a period of study and apprenticeship and would return to Viet Nam to teach the skilled craft to others usually members of their own family. The guilds, rather than serving as a means of helping the workers, were primarily intended to guard the knowledge and techniques of a certain skill from too wide dissemination. The system later developed into a form of apprenticeship training. Unfortunately, the apprenticeship aspect of these early unions has been lost and today efforts are being made to redevelop this type of skill training in Viet Nam.

Although the French rule in Viet Nam began in 1862, there was virtually no trade union activity here until the 1920s and 1930s, when a few industrial unions began emerging in the North around Hanoi and Hai Phong. The first Labor Code was adopted in 1937 under the Popular Front French government of Leon Blum. It provided for an eight hour work day, annual paid vacation, weekly rest days, workmen's compensation and prohibited night labor for women.

It did not, however, amend a 1933 law prohibiting trade unions. The French collaborationist government which came with the fall of France early in World War II brought a series of repressive actions against workers' organizations, but this relaxed somewhat under the Japanese occupation (1940-45). During this period, Emperor Bao Dai created May 1 as national Labor Day, a paid holiday.

The political flux which existed in Viet Nam immediately following World War II extended to the trade union movement. In 1947, the French Confederation of Christian Labor and the French General Confederation of Labor both established representative offices in Viet Nam, although Vietnamese nationals were still not permitted to belong to trade unions. The French unions did help set up "associations" for the protection of workers' interests.

Tran Quoc Buu, present president of the CVT, organized the Federation of Nongovernmental Workers on Oct. 29, 1949, affiliating soon with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (now known as the World Confederation of Labor). Buu served as secretary-general and Pham Van Dang as chairman. In 1952 the name of the organization was changed to Confederation of Vietnamese Christian Labor (in spite of the fact that Buu himself, like 90 per cent of his members was Buddhist) and later the word "Christian" was dropped. The CVT held its first national convention in 1954, with Buu being elected president and Bui Luong secretary-general.

V. USAID'S ROLE IN TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENT...

The U. S. Mission in Viet Nam has assisted various Vietnamese trade unions in their development for more than 10 years, although such activities have been carried on by an operational Labor Division for only the past five years. Although the largest portion of Labor Division's trade union support activities are concentrated on the CVT, which represents more than 80 per cent of the organized workers of Viet Nam, programs are carried out with many other non-CVT unions as well.

The Labor Division itself is divided into two branches -- Trade Union Development and Manpower Development. While the Trade Union Branch provided the main thrust for labor union support, the Manpower Branch also has activities aimed at the unions. The most obvious of these is the Labor-Management Relations Activity, which is intended to assist the Ministry of Labor of the GVN in improving labor-management relations through training in modern concepts of industrial relations and to train labor inspectors and conciliators in law enforcement and disputes settlement. An Industrial Relations Institute has been established under the MOL to conduct such courses for representatives of both the unions and management.

Labor Division has sent nearly 100 Vietnamese trade unionists to the U. S. or third countries for participant training. These participants came from every level of trade union organization... national, provincial district and hamlet. Although most of the early participant programs were motivational-type observation tours designed to give the Vietnamese an insight into American trade unionism, most of the PIO/Ps scheduled for FY 70-71 call for more specialized training in various aspects of trade unionism, such as cooperative development or leadership. The Asian Labor Education Center (ALEC) at the University of the Philippines has been utilized to a great extent to provide semi-academic training for trade union leaders. In 1967, USAID sent 10 participants to ALEC; 10 in 1968; five in 1969; 20 are scheduled for 1970 and 30 for 1971.

In addition to the training of leaders Labor Division works closely with the Agriculture Division (Domestic Production Division) in developing operational programs such as fertilizer distribution, protein production, seed improvement and others which are focused on the Tenant Farmers' Federation or the Fishermen's Federation of the CVT. Regional and provincial CORDS offices also work closely with local CVT organizations in developing various programs such as cooperatives credit unions or social welfare projects.

VI. AMERICAN LABOR ASSISTING VIETNAMESE UNIONS...

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) has long maintained close relationships with the CVT. Seeking to stimulate this relationship into a productive form of direct union-to-union assistance, USAID requested the AFL-CIO to consider methods by which such assistance could be rendered. Early in 1968, an AFL-CIO delegation from the U. S. came to Viet Nam to negotiate an agreement with the CVT. The result of this agreement was the establishment of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, which has been operational in-country since May, 1968.

AAFLI's first project was to train CVT cadres and members in various phases of trade unionism. Training goals included:

Elementary Leadership	1,800 members
Intermediate Leadership	600 members
Advanced Leadership	150 cadres
Press and Information techniques	60 cadres
Co-op Organizing	90 cadres or members
Co-op Management	60 cadres or members

In addition, AAFLI established a Service Control Center which provides guidance to CVT interns being trained under an on-the-job program. AAFLI has also provided a revolving fund under which CVT Tenant Farmers may purchase small diesel-powered tractors for use in establishing hamlet level 10-family producer cooperatives. This program has been extremely successful, resulting in a great surge in the demand for mechanized equipment by farmers.

VII. SUMMARY...

The information contained in this report is intended only to provide a brief glimpse into trade union activities in Viet Nam. Additional information or assistance may be obtained by contacting the Trade Union Branch of Labor Division at 275 Pham Ngu Lao St. , Saigon. Telephone numbers are 93083 (PTT), Extension 5171, 5172, 5173 or 5175. Mr. Roger E. Burgess is the Assistant Director for Labor and Mr. Gerald G. Graf is the Chief of Trade Union Branch. The USAID Labor Division is a technical division operating under the Associate Director for Local Development Mr. A. E. Farwell.

Additional information may also be obtained by referring to Program Division documents such as the CAP PBS or PIP under Project No. 730-15-410-328.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF CVT

TRIENNIAL NATIONAL
CONFEDERAL CONVENTION

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE Bd.

1 PRESIDENT
2 VICE-PRESIDENTS
1 SECRETARY-GENERAL
3 DEPUTY SEC.-GENERAL
1 TREASURER
2 DEPUTY TREASURERS
10 COMMISSIONERS

PLANTATION
WORKERS'
FEDERATION

TRANSPORTATION
WORKERS'
FEDERATION

TEXTILE
WORKERS'
FEDERATION

FEDERATION
(Mixed)

FISHERMEN'S
FEDERATION

TENANT-FARMERS'
FEDERATION

28 CVT PROVINCIAL
COUNCILS OR CVT
REPRESENTATIVE
OFFICES

UNIONS

UNIONS

UNIONS

UNIONS

UNIONS

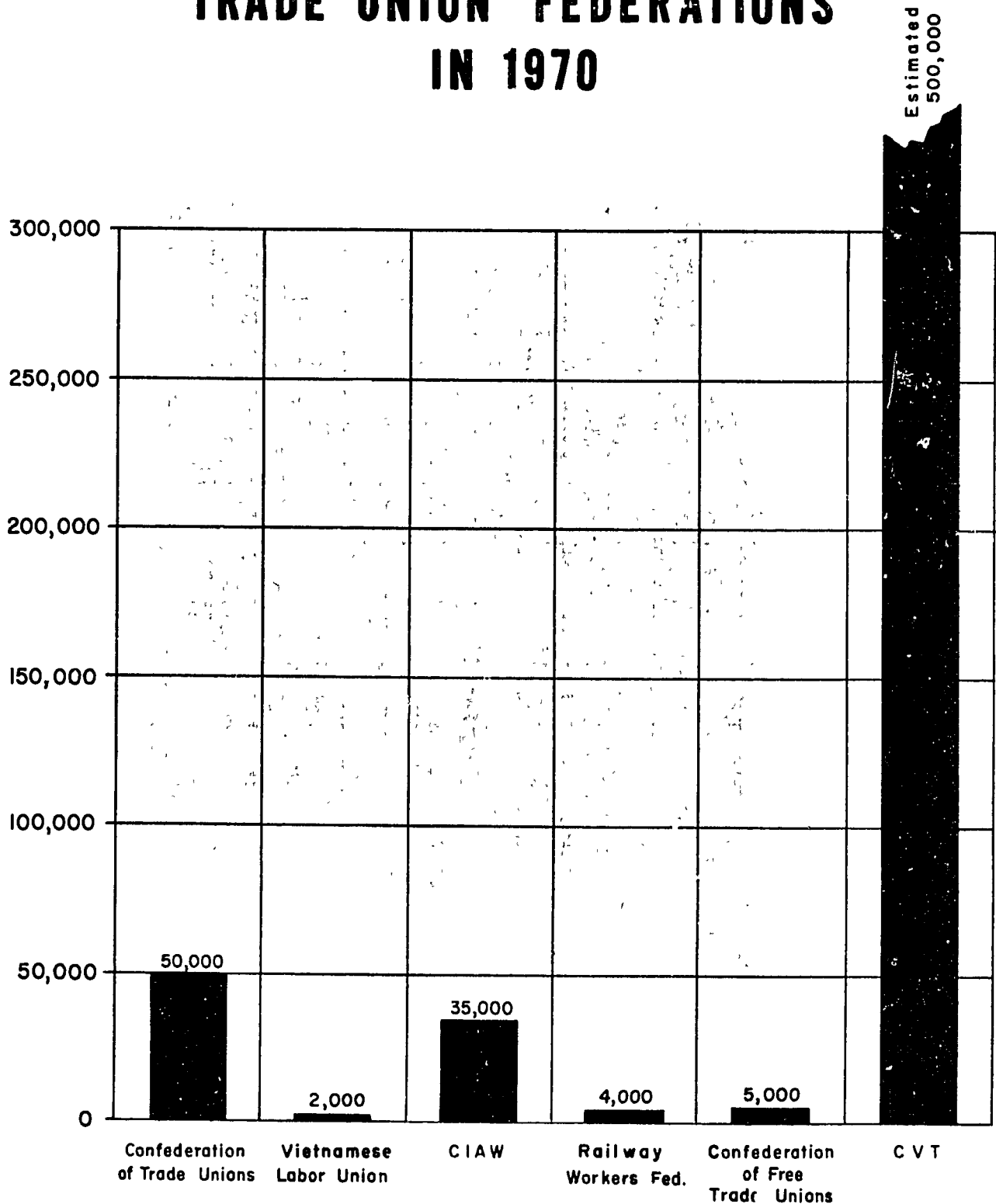
UNIONS

BRANCHES



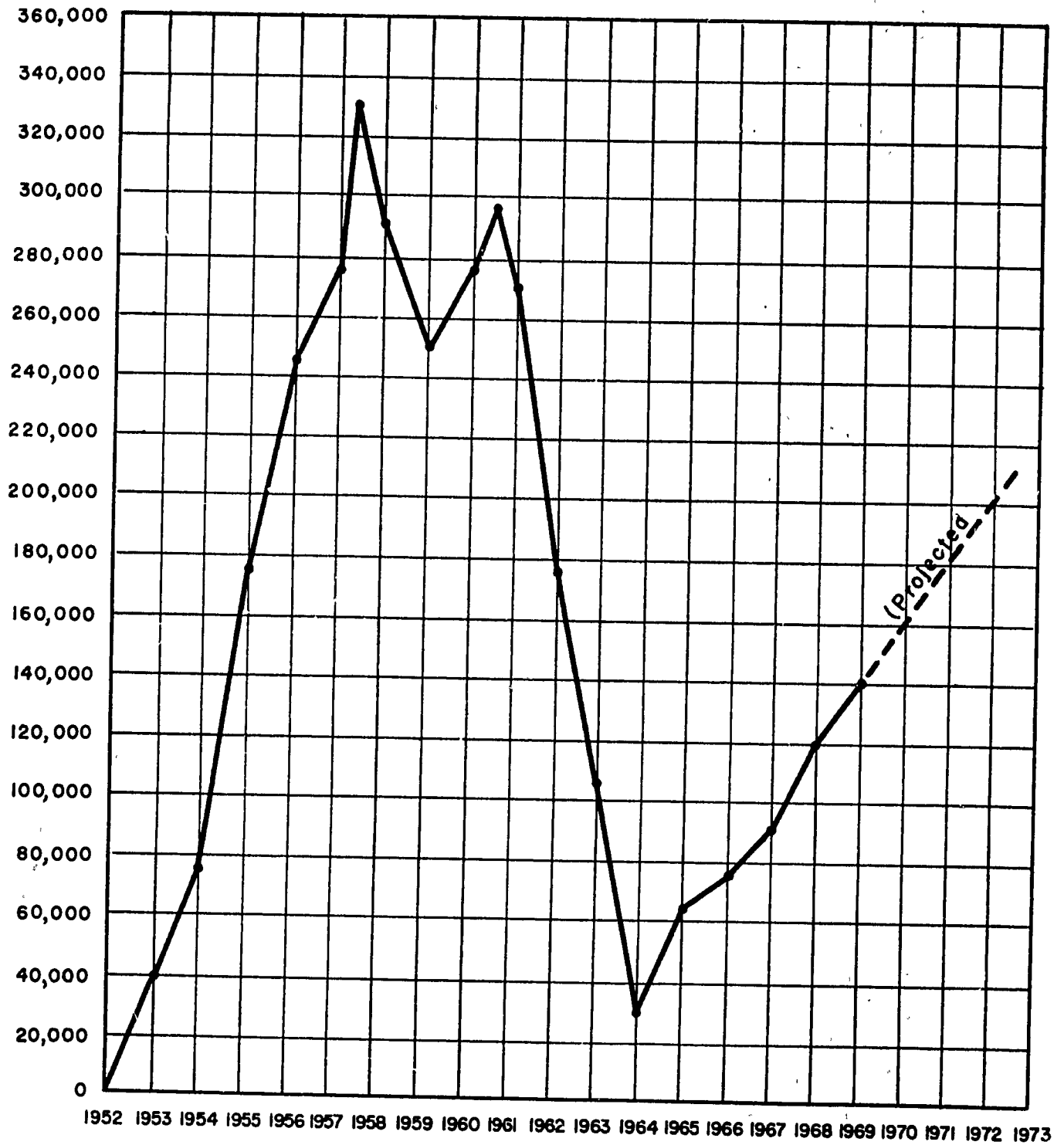
MEMBERS

MEMBERSHIP OF VIETNAMESE TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS IN 1970



(All figures are those claimed by the organizations and are not confirmed)

TENANT FARMERS' FEDERATION GROWTH FROM 1953 - 69



LIST OF THE CVT NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

TERM OF OFFICE 1967-1970

Mr. Tran Quoc BUU	: President
- Vo Van DAU	: 1st Vice-President
- Nguyen Van HOAC	: 2nd Vice-President
- Tran Van QUYEN	: Secretary General
- Tran Quang SANG	: 1st Deputy Secretary General
- Nguyen Xuan HUNG	: 2nd Deputy Secretary General
- Pham Van VY	: 3rd Deputy Secretary General
- Nguyen Van PHONG	: 4th Deputy Secretary General
- Vo Van GIAO	: Treasurer General
- Nguyen Van PHUOC	: 1st Deputy Treasurer
- Phan Van HOANH	: 2nd Deputy Treasurer
- Ta Ngoc TUONG	: 3rd Deputy Treasurer
- Pham Van HOC	: Social Welfare Commissioner
- Nguyen Van TUC	: - - - - -
Mrs. Tran Thi NGHIA	: Women's Activities Commissioner
Mr. Nguyen Thua NGHIEP	: Co-operative Commissioner
- Nguyen Van TUONG	: Financial Commissioner
- Luu Van LAI	: Rural Affairs Commissioner
- Bui BO	: Youth Commissioner
- Vuong Van BINH	: Transport Commissioner

INAGURAL SPEECH OF PRESIDENT TRAN QUOC BUU
AT THE 20th ANNIVERSARY OF CVT IN SAIGON
OCTOBER 30, 1969

Mr. President of the Republic
Mr. Prime Minister
Mr. President of the Supreme Court
Mr. President of the Senate
Mr. Speaker of the House of Representatives
Mr. Minister of State
Mr. President of the Inspectorate
Venerable Religious Leaders of Vietnam

Excellencies, the Secretaries of State, Ministers and Deputy-Ministers, Senators and Deputies, Representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, Generals of ARVN, Mayor of Saigon, Distinguished guests from friendly International Labor Organizations, from political parties, from professional organizations and brother and sister delegates of local unions throughout the country.

* * * * *

It is a great honor for me personally and for all CVT delegates to welcome His Excellency, the President of the Republic and all distinguished guests under this humble roof on the occasion of our 20th Anniversary.

The fact that the President of the Republic has spared his very precious time to preside over this celebration is strong evidence of his solicitude for the laboring classes. This proves also the concern of His Excellency for every field of activity of the nation, his readiness to listen to the aspirations of all classes of people in the country, and especially today the simple but sincere aspirations, of industrial and agricultural workers coming from the cities and the countryside throughout Vietnam.

The presence of the President of the Republic and of the distinguished guests as well in the present celebration constitutes a very important event to us. We would like to request the President and our distinguished guests here to accept the sincere expression of gratitude from the heart of our labor family.

We would like to express our thanks especially to the representatives of the friendly international and national labor organizations who come here from so far to attend this celebration, to prove that the solidarity among the workers' organizations throughout the world is a living reality.

We would also like to express our thanks to the AFL-CIO and to the American workers through that organization for their dedicated and sincere cooperation with the CVT. Furthermore, the AFL-CIO is a people's organization that is supporting wholeheartedly the people of the Republic of Vietnam in their present vital struggle. It has shown its interest in working

for the promotion not only of the American worker, but also for the promotion of all workers throughout the world.

We don't forget to express our thanks to all international labor and people's organizations of almost all countries over the free world that cannot be represented at our celebration, but that have sent their telegrams and letters of congratulations and greetings on our anniversary.

Mr. President of the Republic
Distinguished Guests,
Beloved Brothers and Sisters,

1969 is a most important year for our labor movement, because it is the year of the CVT's 20th Anniversary, as well as the 50th Anniversary of the ILO.

The International Labor Organization (ILO)

After the solemn celebration of the ILO's 50th anniversary yesterday at the Saigon City Hall, sponsored by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, on behalf of the Vietnamese workers, we are glad to express our admiration for and trust in that organization of which Vietnam had the honor to be a member for 20 years during which the CVT has represented the Vietnamese workers.

Established in 1919 by the Peace Conference convened to end World War I, the International Labor Organization was first affiliated with the League of Nations and since 1946 it was the first "technical organization" to be set up within the United Nations organization.

The tripartite structure is the basic strength of the International Labor Organization, and has been the reason for the ILO's survival through wars and economic crises since 1919.

We strongly endorse the ILO's principle to work for peace through social justice within every country and among all countries of the world because peace cannot be established as long as there remain wide variations of living standards among the people within a country as well as among people from different countries. It is a great honor for us to represent the Vietnamese workers in the ILO, and we take this opportunity to formally state that we are firm in our struggle for the liberation of the Vietnamese industrial and agricultural workers that we are working to build up Vietnam's prosperity based on the principles of ILO, and are attempting to contribute to the general prosperity of all countries around the world.

The French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) and the World Confederation of Labor (WCL)

We cannot forget our gratitude to the CFDT and to the WCL, the two friendly organizations that have ceaselessly supported the CVT movement since its foundation. At that time, it was a point of honor for the French Confederation to be more progressive and foresighted in its ideas than the French government, because it was sincere in supporting the liberation of the Vietnamese workers, while independence of Vietnam had not yet been recognized by France.

The WCL and the CFDT have shown the responsibility of sound trade union movements by not confining their interests within the narrow barriers of political partisanship to work for the dignity of Labor.

We can say that every worker has two fatherlands: his own native fatherland, and that of oppressed workers to be liberated.

Particularly, we would like to express our gratitude to Brother Gilbert Jouan former representative of the CFDT and WCL in Vietnam from 1947 to 1954. As a union militant he has been fighting with us in the Vietnam labor field, supporting our attacks on the capitalistic colonialists. He was helping us to establish the first cell of the CVT movement within the forbidden lands of the rubber plantations and the coal mines.

Mr. President of the Republic
Distinguished Guests,
Broth Brothers, Sisters, our beloved delegates,

The Labor Situation Under the French Regime

The CVT movement is 20 years old now. If age is a sign of the maturity of a man, it is also a sign of the maturity of the trade union movement, considering our confused history with its ups and downs.

Almost all the trade union movements over the world have been affected by the political, economic, and social influences of their own countries. The trade union movement in Vietnam cannot be an exception to that common rule, however in many cases our Vietnamese union movement can be proud to play the role of a pioneer in working to solve the many political, economic, and social problems confronting Vietnam. The history of the CVT has proved the truth of our statement.

Sincerely speaking, it is very hard for us to understand the situation of the Vietnamese workers some 20 years ago. In principle, the French colonial government established some labor regulations, but they were never implemented because of the powerful opposition of the enterprises' owners. Some Vietnamese industrialists and landowners also oppressed their countrymen by using the protection of the French colonialists.

The Peasants

The Vietnamese peasants were the agricultural slaves in the exact meaning of the term. Their life was tied to the pieces of land they were working on tenancy to provide a bowl of rice for themselves and their families, to provide a hut in which to live as well, and tombs for their parents. There was not a single law to protect them from exploitation and oppression by the landowners. Nobody can forget the pictures of slave land-tenants bowing humilatingly before the landlords. They were beaten mercilessly by the landlords' men if they paid land-tenancy with low quality paddy.

The Owners of Plantations and the Owners of Mines

In the rubber, tea, coffee plantations and in the mines, the contractual workers suffered even more. In every plantation or mine there was a slavery system that nobody could believe existed in the 20th century. Living together

in camps as slaves, the workers did not have enough food in their daily rations, not enough drinking water and water for washing. They worked in the most painful conditions without safety measures, and furthermore, they were oppressed and beaten unconditionally.

The CAI System (the regime of sub-contractors) and the Foremen

There was no need to go into the forests and the remote rice fields to find labor exploitation, for anyone could see the exploitation of one man by another man right in the Saigon Capital in the dock area, where the porters were under oppression by the "cai" (sub-contractors) and the foremen. The porters would have employment if they agreed to the regime of the cai, of the foremen, the racketeers, the security agents with their right to beat the workers, to dismiss them, and even to put them in jail, and to kill them. The workers were given only 4/10 of their wages, while the 6/10 went to the cai.

The above is but a rough picture of the real face of the capitalists and feudalists and the colonialists who dominated this country for many decades. When finance was combined with power at that time, it created a brutal regime of man exploiting man.

Reactions of the Workers:

Because of that situation, the Vietnamese people in general and the workers in particular had ceaselessly struggled for their rights for a decent life. There was a continuous resistance movement all over the country during 80 years of colonialism, and the Vietnamese peasants and workers particularly had revolted many times, but had always been bloodily repressed.

In 1908 the peasants of Central Vietnam rose in revolt against the personal tax and forced labor. In two months of upheaval, the movement spread to almost all provinces, with the consequence that many patriots were put in jail or killed.

In 1940 the peasants of Southern Vietnam in coalition with the urban workers of Saigon enterprises demanded independence for Vietnam with the motto "The cultivators must have lands" and "Liberation of the Industrial and Agricultural Workers". That upheaval movement was led by a patriot for liberation of the Vietnamese workers. But the Communists afterwards distorted the fact and stated that the upheaval was under Communist leadership because there was the participation of Miss Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and Mr. Duong Hong Phong working beside Mr. Duong Van Giao and your humble speaker. Of course, the upheaval was put down and all the leaders were jailed, among them your humble speaker and some of our friends actually working in the CVT movement.

That was the will of all the people and the aspirations of all the patriots to liberate the country from eternal misery, but the only way to do so was to use force and violence against the ruling force and violence. But the Communists had monopolized our tactics and our movement of resistance for independence was misused by the Communists for other purposes.

The beginning of the Union Movement:

From that confused situation, some men who were working for their country had found another opportunity to protest. That opportunity came when the French Unions, the CFTC and the CGT-FO, sent their representatives to Vietnam to establish trade unions for French citizens working in public services and in undertakings of a military nature, as the Arsenal Navy Yard, and Tan Son Nhut Airport, etc.

In 1948 at the Congress of the CFTC it was decided to establish a CFTC branch in Indochina to support an independent union movement in Indochina before the recognition of political independence of Indochinese States by the French Government.

At the time there was no law authorizing the establishment of trade unions in this country. To avoid the legal obstacles, the first union movement established in October 1949 was labelled with a very modest name. It was called the "Association for Protection of Professional Interests of Workers in Craft, Industry, Commerce, Agriculture and in Liberal Professions". The Executive Committee at the time was composed of Frenchmen and Vietnamese affiliated with the CFTC, but two months afterwards we had a separate Executive Committee composed only of Vietnamese and the new organization had a new name: "The Federation of Employees in the Private Sector".

May 1, 1950, and the First Dispute of our Union Movement:

Our first labor dispute occurred on May Day 1950.

Without authorization to organize on Labor Day, our Federation changed its tactics by organizing a requiem mass at the Saigon Cathedral (now Basilic). We all gathered, after the mass, at the Glass-House (now CVT Headquarters) for a union meeting. Despite the intervention of policemen to disperse our group, many of us had arrived at the Glass House to meet and make a resolution. Under the leadership of your humble speaker, five brothers from the Federation came to the Gia Long Palace and presented our 4-Point Resolution to Prime Minister Tran Van Huu. It consisted of the following items:

1. To shut down the Kim Chung Gambling House at Cholon.
2. To dissolve the Cai System and the system of foremen in the Saigon Commercial Port and in the rice mills at Cholon.
3. Promulgation of the Labor Code.
4. The right of free trade unions.

In June of that year (1950) Vietnam was accepted as member of the International Labor Organization, and our Federation of Employees in the Private Sector was recognized as the representative of the Vietnamese workers by the same ILO Conference. After we came back from the ILO Conference, the Federation of Employees in the Private Sector increased its activities. After the establishment of the Union of Printing Workers and the Union of Saw Mill Workers, the Federation started to protest the Cai (subcontractor system) and the system of foremen in the Saigon Commercial Port after we had established a "Committee for the Liberation of the Port". But we had paid very dearly for our involvement. Two of our militant brothers lost their lives.

Brother Tran Van Cay was assassinated and Brother Nguyen Binh Phuong disappeared forever in a kidnapping, without mentioning many others who were put in jail.

Our dispute against the authorities:

After our recognition by the ILO, the Federation of Employees in the Private Sector started its struggle with the authorities for implementation of the ILO's Principles.

On December 10, 1950, a delegation of the Federation had an audience with Chief of State Bao Dai to remind him of our 4-Point demand presented on May 1, 1950, and at the same time we requested him to improve labor conditions in three areas:

1. Classification of occupations.
2. Determination of the minimum wage.
3. Determination of the monthly-salary-status.

Before the continuous demands of the Federation, the Government of Vietnam had promulgated successively the following basic regulations on trade unions:

- The Labor Code (Royal Order No. 15 of August 7, 1952)
- Law prescribing the regulations pertaining to the establishment of Trade Unions (Royal Order No. 23 of November 16, 1952)
- Law prescribing the regulations of the Workers' Family Allowance (Royal Order No. 2 of January 20, 1953)
- Law prescribing labor conditions for agricultural workers on the plantations (Royal Order No. 26 of May 26, 1953)
- Law prescribing the land tenancy regime and the land reform (Royal Order No. 20 of June 4, 1953).

The Change of our Name and the Development of our Movement:

With the above-mentioned laws and regulations, the Vietnamese union movement had a solid legal foundation for its activities, and our development period began in 1952.

To respond to the new requirements, the Federation of Employees in the Private Sector broadened its activities and changed its name to the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor (C.V.T.) in April 1952.

After the promulgation of the law on trade unions by the Royal Order No. 23 of November 16, 1952, the C.V.T. convened its first Congress at the end of 1952, attended only by South Vietnamese trade unions. The workers of Central Vietnam and North Vietnam were allowed to establish their unions only at the end of 1952.

In North Vietnam in 1953 the union movement was introduced first to the mine workers, who greeted it with enthusiasm. A wonderful reception by 30,000 mine workers from Hon Gay and Cam Pha was organized by the CVT delegation coming from the South. The NVN worker welcomed the union movement as a liberation movement.

In Central Vietnam the CVT union movement had established its offices in almost every province. A union congress was held at Hue on May 10, 1953, to establish the Council of Unions in Central Vietnam.

In 1953, the union movement was efficiently developed in the following fields:

- the workers of Craft, Industry, Commerce
- The tenant-farmers
- and the workers in plantations

It was natural that our union movement had met many unfavorable reactions from the employers.

To settle the unavoidable labor disputes concerning workers' problems, the CVT had proposed the establishment of bi-partite-committees composed of equal numbers of employers and workers representatives to sit down and talk about a proper solution. Furthermore, CVT had proposed tri-partite-committees with the participation of the labor authorities as arbitrators. The workers' strike is the last tactic to be used and then only when other tactics have failed. But the strongest reaction comes from the Communists, because the Communists don't want to see the improvement of workers' living conditions, for then it is more difficult to exploit the workers to achieve their obscure schemes. Since 1952 the Communists launched operations aimed at destroying the reputation of union leaders, but the union's just cause was victorious in the end.

Before the above-mentioned facts that nobody can deny, the Government of Vietnam issued on May 20, 1953, the receipt of recognition No. 1 to the CVT movement for activities throughout Vietnam.

In the following year, in March 1953, the 2nd Congress of CVT was held at its headquarters, 14 Le Van Duyet Street, Saigon, attended by delegates of all local unions throughout the country from the South and the North. That was the first national congress, and alas, it was also the last, because four months later the Geneva Agreement prescribed the partition of Vietnam.

CVT as regard to the partition of Vietnam:

If the people of Vietnam consider the partition of their country as the most acute suffering, CVT considers it as a big defeat because it leaves behind, on the other side of the 17th parallel almost half of its membership of nearly 100,000 persons.

On the occasion of participation in the ILO Convention held that year in

Geneva, on behalf of the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor, I said in a press conference that our Confederation did not accept the partitioning of Vietnamese territory for political reasons and affirmed that the laboring people of the North as well as of the South were a unified block and that the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor represents the laboring people of the whole country at the ILO, something which to this day and in the future we will continue to do.

That was the reason why our Confederation decided to leave a number of cadre in the North to continue their activities and to safeguard the principles of our free labor movement.

Soon after, all trade-union organizations were compelled to join the Communist Confederation. The members had to undergo forced hard labor in Communist camps, except for those who had been murdered such as Thu, Secretary of the Mining Union Workers; Chiem, Secretary of the Railways Union Workers; Phan Nam, cadre of Mining Union Workers, etc.

After the Geneva Agreement, the labor movement could be strongly developed, thanks to the cease-fire. But we encountered many difficulties with the Government of the First Republic.

While the Farmers Union was attempting to organize, the Government Farmers Association was set up to block it, and that was not in the interest of the Nation.

Then came the period of Communist sabotage and the war.

Besides the number of members who have sacrificed their lives in the Army for their duties toward the fatherland, those who have been killed by the Communists amounted to 98.

During the period of confusion from 1964 to 1965, our Confederation surmounted many difficulties to survive up to today.

Looking at the past.

If the present situation be compared with the state of 20 years ago, we have to realize that there have been many achievements.

Our farmers and workers have been liberated from the feudal regime of slavery. But the most important of all was the advance in human dignity in the labor movement field.

Of course, the labor movement has been faced with very unfavorable reactions from recalcitrant beneficiaries as well as from the subversive and destructive communists.

However, with the willingness of our cadres, and with the comprehension of our members of their interests as well as of their human dignity, our Confederation has surmounted many obstacles to start an era of promotion of the farming and working people.

Looking at our history, our Confederation can be proud of all our great achievements, mindful of the dangers we have faced, not without many heroic feats. But the successful results obtained should not let us forget our weaknesses, an unavoidable lack of harmony among leaders and cadres, as well as between cadres and members. Those errors were corrected on time thanks to our noble cause.

We must admit that during 20 years of hard struggle, our labor movement could not avoid some friction between the managing people, the government and us. But those frictions, such as they were, came from our insistence on solidarity with the farmers' and workers' interests and those frictions also threw light on the national cause of Free and Democratic South Vietnam.

Our activities in foreign countries.

We have described above our activities in the country. But it was not the only orientation of activities of our Confederation in the last 20 years.

Since 1950, we have closely cooperated with the I.L.O. in the international area as well as with the nations of the Far East.

Affiliated with the CISC (named now CMT) in 1951, we have to build the international labor movement in South America, in Africa, and in Asia.

Cooperating with the CISL and other social and cultural Foundations of West Germany, U.S.A., France and Japan, our Confederation can say that it has strengthened the prestige of the Republic of South Vietnam in its international relationships.

In addition, we have taken part in the building of labor movements in many countries of the Third World.

Facing the future.

Acknowledging our responsibility towards the community and orienting all our thoughts to the future, we feel unsatisfied with the modest results we have obtained. Under the pretext of being absorbed by his occupation, the worker has been able to neglect his duties toward the national cause; his occupation's interests are closely linked with the supreme interests of the Fatherland.

What has happened to those basic labor organizations we have erected in North Vietnam? Are they oppressed, are our labor cadres left there? How are their lives?

What will be the future of the laboring people in South Vietnam? Of all the people here?

Those are questions asked now by the farmers and workers in South Vietnam.

Our laboring people not only want to hear the clear answers to those questions, but also to contribute to finding the answers.

With the prestige of a well-run organization, evergrowing, despite the obstacles put in its path, our Confederation has the duty to tell its members to think seriously of its nation's future.

Below are some problems that must be solved urgently:

1. Stablization of prices.- The people are surprised about the increase of the cost of living and of taxes. In a position of self sufficiency, the working people willingly support the government, though they have to live a hard life. But it must be realized by the high ranking officials that all the tricks of speculation and corruption should be eliminated so that the people's interest will be protected.

2. Land development.- We welcome the government's draft law on "Land to the Tiller". This is a progressive law which greatly responds to the farmers' desire. Because they were actively working for that draft law, two CVT's cadres were murdered; they were brother KIM CHO at Vinh Binh and brother NGUYEN VAN NHIEM at Dinh Tuong province. However, the above draft law will be less effective if the Bill on Farmers Association is approved and promulgated.

Under the first Republican regime, such a farmer's association was established and managed by a few people who were not real farmers; they were monopolists, and were not genuine representatives of the farmers. As a result, that regime faced difficulties and was not successful in the country-side. The country will be strong, if it serves the people and is supported by them.

On this occasion, we also would like to express the farmers' desires to the Executive as well as the Legislative Branch. They hope to have a safe and good life and to be protected by effective laws.

3. Democratizing the national economy.- The economic policy should be democratized by establishing a collective management as fixed in the Article 22 of the constitution. Democracy and politics will be meaningless if we do not carry out the democratic economy. Without it, working people will be exploited. This is a good way to create a lasting peace, and when the people get along well among themselves there will be peace in the society.

4. Ratification of agreement 87 of the International Labor Organization.

The agreement No. 87 of the ILO fixed the right to freedom of trade union for every citizen in every country member, it also includes that for civil servants. However, the civil servants in the Republic of Vietnam have not enjoyed that right yet; therefore their necessary and vital interests cannot be defended properly. That agreement was ratified by 30 African countries, and the civil servants' interests of those countries therefore are promoted, their governmental machineries are well organized and effective, and corruption is eradicated. Consequently, we would like to see that same policy put into effect in South Vietnam.

5. Towards the North.- On behalf of a genuine labor organization, which

represents all the workers from the North to the South, the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor asks the North to liberalize their regime so that about one million refugees who are in the South now can freely return to their homes as they wish, and can enjoy all democratic activities as they did in the South. Further, the Northern regime should respect the right to freedom of trade union and the principle of pluralism of trade unions as well as of independent trade unions which are separated from the government, the North should also respect the right to strike.

6. Matter of peace.- Workers and farmers are people who love peace because they are victims of war. Consequently, the Vietnamese workers and farmers happily accept the principle of self determination to end the war. But it must be applied seriously. That means that self-determination should be applied for all the Vietnamese people from the North to the South. The reason is that the Vietnamese people as the North to the South. The reason is that the Vietnamese people as well as their territory are one. If this principle is applied for only a part of the country, then that principle must be considered meaningless.

The communists from the North are aggressors, and the so-called NLF is also their tool in the South. They are assisted with many things, such as weapons, money, and ammunition by the communists. If the principle of self-determination is applied in the South only, as the North suggests, the sovereign State of the South will disappear. According to the principle of undivided territory and a people who are one, there is no part of the country which can decide on its own. On the contrary, that decision must be from the whole Vietnamese people and any part of the national territory should also belong to all the Vietnamese people.

Consequently, we ask that a free election in both the North and the South be organized, so that the whole Vietnamese people can decide on the destiny not only of the the South Vietnamese but also the destiny of the entire nation.

The communist government cannot allege that contests for power are non-existent in North Vietnam, for elections have never been organized there. In fact jails in NVN are crowded with compatriots who have fought against the NVN regime, and NVN people have many times revolted against communism. But these revolts and imprisonments are not known to the world because NVN communist authorities have never allowed foreign pressmen to freely enter the North as they have been able to do here in South Vietnam.

The argument saying that contests for power are non-existent in NVN is a false one, because for many years, VN people have been struggling against the communists, evidences of which are found in the deaths of thousands of fighters against communism as well as the exodus of nearly one million northern compatriots fleeing from communism as refugees in South Vietnam.

As I have said above, in 1954, as soon as the Geneva Convention was signed, I myself, through a press conference held in Geneva where I attended an ILO conference, I proclaimed I would never recognize the partitive parallel for political reasons. I affirm that the labor class from North to South Vietnam is one. In consequence, today, as in the past, the CVT always considers

the rights of citizenship as full and complete all over VN territory and does not accept the principle of citizens as belonging to one-half of the country only.

We ask all lovers of peace as well as all anti-war movements in the world to stop giving support to the invasion by preasing peace on one side only. We ask these individuals and these movements to the murder of our innocent people at the hands of international communism. Peace will come without delay if these groups stop their activities which encourage and aid North Vietnam.

Dear brothers and sisters, Representatives of different Unions, Federations, Federates Unions and Locals' Offices.

We are meeting today to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the establishment of our organization. More than nay others, you realize the CVT's progress which you have contributed to. All CVT successes are those brought about by yourselves. We all have the right to be proud of the results, but nevertheless, we must not forget our duties toward our people and our fatherland in the desisive period to come. Tactics tested during the twenty past years are valuable for our tempering before future new tasks. We are determined to develop the actual value of the labor class, to enhance the ideal of our labor union movement by consolidating our ranks, building up our internal organizations, overcoming all difficulties met, so as to step up liberation of industrial and agricultural workers and achieve the prosperity of our country.

In the past, I had an opportunity to state: "War or peace begins in the workshop, in the economic framework of the nation, in the social infrastucture as well as in the world-wide human community.

"The role of a labor union is not limited to opposition against inequity. This ismerely a part of its self-defense activities, for its main task is to claim for the laboring class the right to share in public responsibilities and to achieve for the laboring class a worthy position in the general scheme of activities of the Nation".

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Once more, we sincerely express our thanks to his Excellency, the President and every lady and gentleman for his and her attendance at this ceremony. Before all of you, we solemnly affirm that all CVT members are determined to fight for a progressive democratic regime relying on basic democratic structures in every business and to oppose every kind of dictatorship from wherever it may come.

We take this opportunity to make an appeal to the ILO and other international labor organizations to lend to the VN labor class their valuable support. We firmly believe in the union of the world-wide labor class; this union wishes to help the world to move away from the present dangerous situation and to return to peace, a true peace without lies, duplicity and

false accusations, and a peace through which freedom and democracy can be guaranteed, social equity can be realized, and human dignity can be respected.

Standards of living and customs and traditions may differ among various people in the world owing to different historical circumstances, but human beings are basically the same and each individual is an image of all mankind. Present and by-gone peoples, as well as Eastern and Western peoples can understand each another, share in the same ideals and the same emotions. In consequence, the dignity of an individual is equally the dignity of all mankind, and peace enjoyed by one nation should be the peace common to all human beings.

Keeping in mind these sincere thoughts and my belief in the dignity of the labor class, in the upward movement of progress, in the union of workers all over the world, I solemnly declare this GREAT CONVENTION in commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the CVT open.

Thank you.